10: Schumacher--225 [3] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 628 Chin-hoan

In order to settle their disputes the Tschin-Huan elect chiefs and otherwise they maintain a continuous feud.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643

The tribe does not have any high chief. The hamlet has a magistrature which is both hereditary and elective (the son does not replace his father unless he is judged worthy of it). The magistrate's power and influence are based entirely upon his wealth and courage.

19: Guérin and Bernard--564 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 682, 692

He [VMM: i.e. the magistrate in a savage community] is a justice of the peace, and he always tries to conciliate the parties. There is no murder among these savage tribes, but theft is rather frequent and only in exceptional cases does the victim render justice himself. The parties appear before the magistrate, and he tries to appease the feeling of hatred between them and to make the delinquent restore the goods or at least pay compensation for them.

21: Asai--2 [7] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622

"The social structure patterns are varied and often complex. In Japanese writings on the life of Formosans, the chieftain of the village is often mentioned, but he is not the same kind of chief as in Africa or as in some places in Indonesia."

21: Asai--3 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 241, 622 Paiwan

"In the village of the Paiwan there is a chief. The villagers are all subjects of the chief. All land belongs to him and he has absolute power. Labor is performed by the order of the chief. The workers are given a portion of the crops. (This is similar to Marshall Islands.)"

22: Wiedfeldt--25 [4] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 622 Atayal

The clan has two spokesmen: the clan chief and the full assembly. The office of chief is hereditary. During his lifetime, the clan head designates the worthiest of his sons as his successor. If none of his sons is worthy, he selects a younger brother or another relative... The head of the clan almost never retires from office before his death. Like many another official who has long since become incapable of action, he likes to die in harness. The nomination of a successor is designed to avoid a break in continuity and to make it possible for the present head to exert some influence on the future.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 614, 686, 622, 626 Atayal

It is unheard of for the head of a clan not to submit to the decision of the tribe, for example, not to pay a fine at once. If a family or an individual does not submit to the judgment of the clan, which very rarely happens, the clan can suspend the family or the individual from the clan. If the suspended member is old, he is not taken in anywhere, and he perishes in misery. If he is young, as a rule he finds employment in a clan which lives at some distance and belongs to another tribe, for all additional labor is very welcome. To be sure, he and his family are a favorite objective of skull hunts on the part of his former comrades in the clan.

22: Wiedfeldt--31 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 646, 622, 202 Atayal

The full assembly of all clan heads and honorary chiefs meets at the invitation of the tribal chief. The time and the place, in case it should be held somewhere else but in the hut of the tribal chief, as well as the agenda, are announced to the nearest clan heads by swift runners. These clan heads, in turn, similarly inform the clan heads who live near them.

22: Wiedfeldt--37-38 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 426, 556, 614, 622 Atayal

The richest man in the tribe is said to have 250 rokosch-kaha. [MC: ornamented sleeveless jacket used as money] The next richest is supposedly one who has 80. Since the first man is the head of a clan, probably all of this is not his private property, but merely belongs to him as the representative of the clan and is derived from rather large fines. Be that as it may, since the families have an average of 20 to 30 rokosch-kaha, there are no great inequalities of income among the Atayals. As to their other possessions, there is almost no difference between families. The ornaments which serve as money are not used for any other purposes than those which have been mentioned. In particular, it is never loaned, so that capital in the sense of money, and also interest, are unheard of. If the clan helps a family to assemble the amount needed for a fine or for the price of a bride, this is done from a feeling of solidarity, but the family does not repay the amount, nor does anyone expect them to do so. If a family breaks a tool, the neighboring family helps them out. [38] by giving them the tool if they have two of them. When the first family has made another tool, they give it as a gift to the second family.

21: Asai--2-3 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 622, 626, 794 Atayal

"Among the Atayal, there are four ritual leagues called gagas in one community, each with its own chief. All four gaga are not always in one village. In one village there may be two. One part of the village will belong to one and the other [3] part to another. Among the gaga there is the head of the ceremonies. At present few ceremonies are practiced in the name of gaga. Membership in gagas is hereditary through the father. A man who immigrated into a village from another village would not be able to join the gaga of the new village. If he marries a woman of the new village, his son can join the gaga. It is possible to marry within the gaga. The gaga play an important role in social control."

22: Wiedfeldt--47 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 594, 614, 622 Atayal

If the family, which is connected among the Atayals by sexual life and propagation, has received its characteristic form because of the economic tasks which it is called upon to perform, the clan is apparently an enlarged family, whose original chief has retained definite legal and economic obligations of a superior nature.

Even more than the family needs a head do the populous institutions of the clan and the tribe need a head to direct them and act for them, for a large number of persons can only act through a representative. In addition, they also need, since they include many people, a body which will express and put into effect the will of the community. Since the dekan [MC: hunting association composed of several clans] lacks both bodies, it is not a social organism, but only a start in that direction. In the clan, this inclusive assembly consists of the heads of all the families, and the bachelors who have been tattooed. In the tribe, it consists of the clan heads and the honorary chiefs. The modern method of selecting the most suitable persons to represent the rest of the population by some kind of electoral procedure is unknown to the Atayals, even in the tribe, where it would be possible. Just as the head of the family represents the family in the clan, [50] so the hereditary heads of the clans are the natural representatives of the members of their clans in the tribal assembly. All the representatives to the assemblies have equal rights. Anyone who is absent is not counted, not even as a negative vote... This would be unnecessary anyway, for among the Atayals, everyone appears. The full assemblies have the authority to make decisions, and they pass on all matters of a general nature. The will of the totality is recognized by the mechanical means of a simple majority. If there is a tie between two opinions, the chief has the decisive voice.

If a resolution is passed, the chief is empowered and obligated to put it into effect, for example, a clan head may be authorized to buy a certain piece of land at a set price,

or a tribal chief may be authorized to carry on negotiations with the Japanese concerning the changes in the Aiyu line. The not unfamiliar contrast between representative and constituent has been rendered impossible among the Atayals by restricting the representative to limited powers. The clan assembly can hold the hereditary head of the clan responsible for voting as it desires in the tribal assembly, for as a rule the clan assembly precedes, and it does so. The corporate body does not relinquish its exclusive right to make decisions even under unfavorable circumstances.

22: Wiedfeldt--50-51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 643, 648 Atayal

After an unsuccessful [MC: diplomatic] battle against the Japanese, the chief of the tribe was forced to break off the negotiations, as soon as circumstances arose which had not been foreseen when his powers were conferred upon him, and had to go back and question his tribal assembly anew, to the annoyance of the Japanese. In view of the fact that they are closely bound to observe the decisions of the full assembly, neither the head of the clan nor the chief of the tribe in particular becomes a real leader and authority, for example, in the protection of foreign envoys. They would not be able to develop any initiative if their position were not assured of a certain independence from another source. They are not chosen by election, and hence they are free from any influence from the side of the assembly or the members of the tribe. Both have inherited their positions as representatives from their forebears, chiefly from their fathers, who selected the most suitable successor on the basis of their long experience and their judgment, without any help from the body corporate. Just [51] as they enter upon their office at the death or retirement of their predecessor, without any particular ceremony, so the termination of their careers as representatives depends entirely on their own wishes. The chief of a tribe retires from his somewhat honorary position when he thinks that he can no longer perform important functions. . .

22: Wiedfeldt--52 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 476, 614, 619, 622 Atayal

Although a lack of supplies and transportation seriously cripples the power of the Atayals to act, to act, they have not yet been able to rise to performing any services for the body corporate. [MC: i. e. the tribe] They have only their own persons and their own strength to offer... It is different in the case of the clan. Here the members of the clan join in raising the fines and the purchase prices. One might see in this custom the germ of a tax system. If one were to examine the conditions more closely, one might also discover other basic principles of taxation, such as the consideration of the capacity of the individual to pay, or the imposition of a heavier quota on those who are particularly concerned. The head of a clan who keeps the fines that are paid in may also be regarded as a kind of treasurer. One may see how difficult it is to organize a large number of people to united and permanent activity from the fact that economic means can be levied for the clan, with its social and economic functions which are easy to see, but it is not possible to do this for the tribe even in an emergency. One can see how this difficulty increases with the size of the superior body.

22: Wiedfeldt--52[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 623, 643, 646 Atayal

The Atayals possess, in addition to the family, two higher grades of social organizations [MC: ie. the clan and the tribe] with a clearly defined and suitable distribution of functions to both institutions. Each one of them has the two indispensable spokesmen: the assembly of the whole and the head, between whom the powers have up to now been adequately divided.

24: Anonymous--92 [5] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 212, 622, 695

The chiefs of one tribe are divided into the head chief and assistant chiefs. There are five or six of these in a community, depending upon the number of families. Trials in one tribe are held in the community house; minor feud are settled elsewhere. Among the clerks of court, there are some who know the Dutch writing; these are called chiao-ts'ê (registrars), and they count all those who go in or out. They dip a goose feather quill into the ink and they write across the page from left to right, instead of up and down. It is said that in recent times, the aborigines have adopted Chinese customs, and that private teachers are trying to teach the children Chinese literature, customs, and music.

Administration of justice is always in the hands of the chief.

The chief examines the question, listens to the parties and some witnesses, and gives a verdict. Sometimes he puts his sentence into effect at once, or he may let the victim or his family attend to it. In doubtful cases, when there is no other way to reach a decision, the natives invoke the gods. In other words, the deceased ancestors of the contending parties are invoked to make the decision. There are two ways of obtaining this decision--they are head-hunting and single combat. Head-hunting is organized in this manner: the two opponents, who are frequently accompanied by their friends, go out separately and attack Chinese peasants who are working alone in the field, or they attack unprotected settlements, and then they behead those people whom they can overpower. The group which comes back with one, or several, or with the largest number of heads has won the suit. [40] The duel is fought by the two opponents, or, if one of them is accused of murder, it is between the accused and the accuser, who is usually a relative of the murdered man. They fight until one of them kills the other and cuts off his head. This indicates that the ancestors have given the victor strength to vanquish his opponent, and this demonstrates the innocence or justice of his accusation--the guilty man has received his punishment.

The affair is more serious when the opponents belong to different tribes. The chiefs generally try to reach a peaceful settlement, but they do not always succeed, and then there is no other recourse but to settle the quarrel by battle between the two tribes.

25: Plaut--40 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 681, 692

The chief's decision is invoked when there is a murder, in cases of adultery and seduction, theft, calumny, and quarrels. Nearly all of the tribes believe that each act has its price, and that if the guilty man pays this price, he can be exonerated from all blame. In many tribes it is left to the victim to decide whether he will accept the money, or whether he prefers the revenge.

25: Plaut--40 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 682, 692 Paiwan

The chief of the Paiwan convokes a tribunal of selected members of the tribe for the abjudication of capital crimes; the murderer is always permitted to pay a ransom, and its amount varies according to whether the perpetrator can show a "just cause" for his deed or not.

26: Honda--471 [3] N-3 (1896) 1897 Formosan Aborigines
116, 579, 622 Bunun

Every village is headed by a chief who is completely independent. Frequently neighboring villages are hostile towards each other.

31; Hofmann--619 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 361, 513, 622 Tsou

When I entered the first village, Teboro, I was received by the chief and treated with great respect; the village is enclosed by a low stone wall, as is each of the houses in the village. The huts are oval in shape; they are made of rough stones taken from rivers and brooks. They are barely 1 1/2 meters high; the ratio between the length and width is 4 to 1. The post which supports the roof consists of a tree trunk which has not been shaped in any way; the roof itself consists of reeds. There is one, or at most two openings without a door; these are on the narrow sides of the house and serve both to give light and to admit air. The hut of the chieftain is somewhat larger. There are niches in the walls which serve as sleeping quarters; the natives sleep on clay which has been beaten flat, while the chieftain sleeps on a bamboo support which is in the center of the hut. The clay floor of the house I visited had been cleaned, but I do not know whether this is always the case.

31: Hofmann--625 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 692 Tsou

As far as we know, the office of chieftain today is passed on through inheritance; the chieftain is also the only judge in the tribe. Each tribal village also has its local chief, chosen by the people themselves; these subordinate chiefs, however, exercise very little power.

34: Del Re--19 [2] U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 625, 177.62 Yami

"When the Japanese, for administrative reasons, tried to induce the members of each village community to elect their own headsman, they met with such opposition that they were obliged to select and appoint one themselves. In practice, however, this Japanese appointee is not recognized by the natives as being anything more than a useful link between themselves and the authorities. (5) Furthermore, unlike what is the

5. cpr. VF, (Pt. I. p.5 f.)

case among other Formosan tribes, it was very difficult before the war to get youths to wear uniform or act as police assistants in spite of the considerable inducements offered them to enter government service."

34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

34:Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
Paiwan

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Paiwan Chief in full dress

37: Steere--307 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 627, 553 Sek-hoan

"There are still some remains of their ancient tribal government among them, but the lineal chiefs or head men seem to have purchased small mandarinships, and thus unite the Chinese authority with that inherited. Justice is generally administered as among the Chinese by the elders and head men of the village. They have a curious custom of naming their children after the different kinds of trees in the forests."

37: Steere--311-312 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 142, 291, 622, 301 Chin-hoan

"The Kale-whan are very small in stature, averaging about five feet. The features of the younger ones are quite regular and pleasant, but among the old, want and vice have almost made them to look like brutes. They dress in Chinese cloth--the men in the short coat or hunting shirt, that leaves the legs and arms exposed. The chief was dressed in the skin of a tiger cat, which seemed to be his badge of office. The women dress much as the Chinese and Pepo-whans in the plain below, but they sometimes spend much time in embroidering their sleeves and trowsers. The women were always, while we were among them, whether at work in the fields or in the villages, crowned with wreaths of vines and flowers. These were often nothing more than sweet potato vines, but in some cases beautiful wild plants and flowers. Many of the men were also decorated in this way, and it would almost seem to be [312]a distinguishing mark of the tribe."

37: Steere--312 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 861, 622 Chin-hoan

"From the fact that they have become so dependent upon their trade with the Pepo-whans, the practice of head hunting seems to have nearly gone into disuse. There were several skulls in niches in their houses, and I was shown a grass hut, with seven or eight skulls heaped in a corner. There were a number of small seats upon the ground, and as nearly as I could ascertain, this hut was used as a dormitory for the small boys, that they might get accustomed to the sight of the skulls of their enemies, and learn to prize them. The villages are upon steep hill-sides. The houses are built solidly, but rudely, of slabs of slate stone. Places are excavated in the hill-side, and the walls built up and covered with slate, the roofs slanting in but one direction, and that with the direction of the hill, so that the houses are hardly seen at a little distance. The roofs are supported by heavy cross walls inside, and by timbers, some of which have been rudely ornamented with carving. The doors, which also serve for windows, are so low that we had to creep on our hands and knees to enter. They are secured by slabs of slate set upright."

39: Wiedfeldt--11-12 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 436, 555, 622, 802 Atayal

The Atayals have a better idea of counting than they have of measuring time. Most of them, to be sure, can only count up to three or five, and that is sufficient for their purposes. Anyone who can count up to thirty is considered clever, and only a few individuals in the border tribes can count up to a hundred. Some of the Japanese maintain that a smart Atayal of the interior can count up to a thousand, but most people say that this is just talk. Most of the tribes are said to have names for numbers up to five only, and to count further by saying five and one, five and two, five and three, five and four. They have a special word for ten, and also for twenty and thirty. Some tribes are said to know more words for numbers, but they seem to have acquired them recently through Chinese or Japanese interpreters. Most of the clan heads can count this way up to twenty or thirty. If they need to go beyond that, they call in a wise man to help them, if fines are to be paid. They also have to count when they are fixing the prike of the bride or the price for adopted children. They count 25 rokosch-kaha, or 250 yen, by putting down 20 rokosch-kaha, or garments with precious [12] materials, and 10 bintoan, breastpieces with precious materials. Presumably the calculation is made at once in this way, and the reduction to a common denominator is made by the interpreter. In tribes that have lived for years inside the Aitu line, and that accept Japanese money, families will sell a rokosch-kaha together with their profit on it for 13 or 15 yen, because they can conceive only of 13 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 binrai, or 15 as 1 rokosch-kaha plus 1 bintoan, but they can not imagine 11, 12, or 14 yen.

39: Wiedfeldt--13 [2] F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 153, 182, 622 Atayal

Some of them, of course, are able to think further agead. For years, some of the tribal chiefs have understood and have attempted to make the others understand that individual fights against the Japanese on the part of different tribes mean useless shedding of blood, and that their only hope lies in common action by all the tribes. They have not achieved a great measure of success, due largely to the difficulty of introducing new ideas into the mind of the Atayals, who do not follow their heads, but the prize skulls. ...They are capable of observing closely, and often make slow but correct deductions from their observations...

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the *mamatsayiran*, (2) the *maluvtsivtsik*, and (3) the *pualu*. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade *pualu*. The aristocratic class is generally called *mamatsayiran*, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called *avusamay*, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the *maluvtsivtsik* or consanguineous, and the *naitsu a n²nmax* or affinal. The big chief *ruvaniau* belongs to the Chimo group. Three *maluvtsivtsik* of the *ruvaniau* are the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, and the *tfaluyi*. Among the *naitsu a numax* are the *voto*, the *tara²atea*, the *gumul*, the *matsiliat*, and the *tfalusayiu* of the Chimo, and the *atsinajay*, the *lusiguay* and the *aliolay* of the Paiwan. The big chief *ruvaniau* possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south *tfalas* possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (*unutel*) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (*utsiputsipoy*) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or *usam* to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or *muluvtsivtsik*. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The *utsiputsipoy* is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the *utsiputsipoy* household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the *utsiputsipoy* are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own *umax* or house. The *umax* or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its *yatay a numax* or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

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On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *ka·ita:n* house. At this time all the *šikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *šikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisiŋ*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisiŋ*.

Conclusions

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In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita:n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

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Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] in typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

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As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

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The *irisiŋ*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was